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Kirill Zhirkov

Assistant Professor

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Appointments

Assistant Professor, University of Virginia, 2021–present

Postdoctoral Fellow, Vanderbilt University, 2020–2021

Education

PhD in Political Science, University of Michigan, 2020

MA in Statistics, University of Michigan, 2020

MA in Social Psychology, Utrecht University (Netherlands), 2010

BA in Economics, Saint Petersburg State University (Russia), 2008

Publications

32. Anti-American Attitudes from the Dual-Process Motivational Perspective: Evidence from Russia (with Eduard Ponarin, Sharon Rivera, and Shane Lin). *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*. Published ahead of print. https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302261499279
31. Americans' Perceptions about Immigrants from Different World Regions: Evidence from a Multinomial Conjoint Experiment. *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 13, no. 2 (2026): 192–202 https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2025.5
30. Inconsistency of Americans' Opinions on Free Speech: Evidence from Three Survey Experiments (with Rachel Smilan-Goldstein). *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 36, no. 1 (2026): 249–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2024.2421572
29. Public and Expert Preferences in Foreign Policy Experiments: Evidence from Parallel Conjoint Analyses (with Melle Scholten). *Political Science Research and Methods* 14, no. 3 (2026): 1011–18. https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2025.10026
28. Comparing Revealed and Expressed Populism: The Case of Voting for the "Alternative fur Deutschland" and "Die Linke" (with Fabian G. Neuner, Christopher Wratil, and Bruno Castanho Silva). *German Politics* 35, no. 2 (2026): 205–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2025.2483225
27. Comparing Methods for Sampling Individuals Within Households: A Field Experiment in Costa Rica (with Noam Lupu, Daniel Montalvo, Mitchell Seligson, and Elizabeth Zechmeister). *Survey Methodology* 51, no. 1 (2026): 213–34. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/12-001-x/2026001/article/00004-eng.pdf
26. Americans' Opposition to Muslim Immigration: Untangling Religion from Country of Origin (with Olyvia R. Christley). *Political Behavior* 47 (2025): 1435–57. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-024-09996-w

25. Multidimensional Constructions of Target Groups and Their Political Implications: The Case of Immigrant [Il]legality (with Lauren Van De Hey). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 58, no. 4 (2025): 641–50. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096525000034
24. Measuring Support for Welfare Policies: Implications for the Effects of Race and Deservingness Stereotypes (with Kristin Lunz Trujillo and C. Daniel Myers). *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 12, no. 1 (2025): 126–33. https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2023.31
23. Beliefs and Opinions about "Illegal" and "Undocumented" Immigrants: Conceptual Replication of a Null Result (with Robert H. Brehm). *Research & Politics* 12, no. 3 (2025). https://doi.org/10.1177/20531680251355233
22. U.S. Sanctuary Policies and Mexicans' Migration Preferences: A Conjoint-Experimental Study (with Rachel Smilan-Goldstein). *International Migration Review* 59, no. 1 (2025): 260–73. https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231185120
21. Perceived Opposition to Racially Progressive Policies and Negative Affect toward the Republican Party among Democrats (with Tyler Reny and Byengseon Bae). *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 10, no. 3 (2025): 664–73. https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2025.10011
20. This Proposal is Racist: The [Muted] Consequences of Invoking Racism in Policy Arguments (with Eugenia Quintanilla). *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 13, no. 3 (2025): 727–36. https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2024.2362687
19. White Partisans' Reactions to Real Politicians' Tweets Framing White Supremacy and Radical Islam as Terrorist Threats (with Rachel Smilan-Goldstein). *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 13, no. 2 (2025): 485–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2024.2342830
18. Revisiting the Measurement of Group Schemas in Political Science (with Nicholas A. Valentino). In *The Cambridge Handbook of Implicit Bias and Racism*, edited by Jon A. Krosnick, Tobias H. Stark, and Amanda L. Scott. Cambridge University Press, 2025. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108885492.013
17. Business Deserts Politics under Weak Institutions: Evidence from Russia, 2003–2010 (with Ivan S. Grigoriev). *Business and Politics* 27, no. 2 (2025): 180–93. https://doi.org/10.1017/bap.2024.31
16. Who Is "On Welfare"? Validating the Use of Conjoint Experiments to Measure Stereotype Content (with C. Daniel Myers and Kristin Lunz Trujillo). *Political Behavior* 46 (2024): 89–110. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-022-09815-0
15. Rethinking Measurement Equivalence in Comparative Political Research (with Christian Welzel). *Political Research Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (2024): 696–712. https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129241241753
14. Perceptions of Stereotypically Immigrant Groups as Darker-Skinned and Politics of Immigration in the United States and Britain. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 11, no. 3 (2023): 667–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2021.1992285
13. The Child-Rearing Scale as a Measure of Authoritarianism in a Non-Western Context: Evidence from Mass and Elite Surveys in Russia (with Eduard Ponarin and Sharon Werning Rivera). *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 35, no. 1 (2023): edad005. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edad005

12. Estimating and Using Individual Marginal Component Effects from Conjoint Experiments. *Political Analysis* 30, no. 2 (2022): 236–49. https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2021.4
11. The Origins and Consequences of Racialized Schemas about U.S. Parties (with Nicholas A. Valentino). *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 7, no. 3 (2022): 484–504. https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2022.4
10. Social Dominance Orientation and Differential Affect toward Immigrant Origin Groups: Evidence from Three Immigration-Receiving Countries. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 85 (2021): 170–83. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.09.014
9. Who Are "the Immigrants"? Beliefs about Immigrant Populations and Anti-Immigration Attitudes in the United States and Britain. *Social Science Quarterly* 102, no. 1 (2021): 228–37. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12925
8. Social Conformity and Prejudice toward Immigrants: The Role of Political Messaging (with Maykel Verkuyten and Eduard Ponarin). *Social Influence* 16, no. 1 (2021): 65–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510.2021.1989028
7. Estimating Relative Prevalence of Competing Issue Voting Rules in Multiparty Elections Using Finite Mixture Modeling. *Electoral Studies* 69 (2021): 102249. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2020.102249
6. Intraparty Polarization in American Politics (with Eric Groenendyk and Michael W. Sances). *Journal of Politics* 82, no. 4 (2020): 1616–20. https://doi.org/10.1086/708780
5. The Consequences of Personality Biases in Online Panels for Measuring Public Opinion (with Nicholas A. Valentino, D. Sunshine Hillygus, and Brian Guay). *Public Opinion Quarterly* 84, no. 2 (2020): 446–68. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfaa026
4. Do Political Connections Make Businesspeople Richer? Evidence from Russia, 2003–2010 (with Ivan S. Grigoriev). *Research & Politics* 7, no. 4 (2020). https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168020979434
3. Dogmatism and Militant Internationalism among Foreign Policy Elites: Evidence from Russia, 1995–2016. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35, no. 5–6 (2019): 422–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2019.1662199
2. Nativist but not Alienated: A Comparative Perspective on the Radical Right Vote in Western Europe. *Party Politics* 20, no. 2 (2014): 286–96. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068813511379
1. Perceptions of World Politics and Support for Terrorism among Muslims: Evidence from Muslim Countries and Western Europe (with Maykel Verkuyten and Jeroen Weesie). *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 31, no. 5 (2014): 481–501. https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894213510121

Under Review

4. Reverse-Correlation Analysis for Political Research: Visualizing the Mental Images of the U.S. Parties (with Anshita Singh, Jazmin Brown-Iannuzzi, and Jeremy Cone)
3. Sorting Does Not Homogenize: Fractionalization in American Parties (with Eric Groenendyk)
2. Americans' Understanding of Ideological Labels: Evidence from Parallel Conjoint Experiments in Mass and Elite Samples (with Elizabeth Simas)

1. Industrial Policy Claw Backs, Business Distress, and Electoral Backlash: Evidence from the Netherlands (with Sonal Pandya and Melle Scholten)

Book Project

As the Twig Is Bent: Race and Partisan Realignment in the United States (with David Sears and Nicholas Valentino)

Work in Progress

6. Marginal Component Effects from Conjoint Experiments Have Predictive Validity: Evidence from Individual-Level Analyses (with Fabian Neuner and Melle Scholten)
5. The Centrality of Ethnicity in Perceptions about Immigration: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in the United States
4. Drivers of Affective Polarization: The Relative Impact of Race, Religion, Income, and Ideology (with Nicholas Valentino)
3. Dimensions of Stereotypes about Muslims and Anti-Muslim Politics in Two Christian-Heritage Democracies (with Amanda d'Urso)
2. Mean and Median Preferences in Conjoint Experiments (with Fabian Neuner, Melle Scholten, and Harrison Balsdon)
1. The Relative Role of Environmental Change in Out-migration from Central America to the United States: Implications for Politics and Policy (with David Leblang and Kathleen Schiro)

Awards and Honors

3. Best Replication Award, Journal of Experimental Political Science, 2026
2. Best Dissertation Award, International Society of Political Psychology, 2021
1. Best Paper in Political Behavior Award, Midwest Political Science Association, 2018 (with Nicholas Valentino)

Grants and Fellowships

18. 3Cavaliers Seed Funding Program, University of Virginia, 2026: $80,000 (with David Leblang and Kathleen Schiro)
17. Quantitative Collaborative Faculty Seed Grant, University of Virginia, 2026: $5,000 (with Amanda d'Urso)
16. Quantitative Collaborative Faculty Seed Grant, University of Virginia, 2025: $8,000 (with Sonal Pandya and Melle Scholten)
15. Quantitative Collaborative Faculty Seed Grant, University of Virginia, 2024: $9,869 (with Elizabeth Simas)
14. Summer Research Stipend, University of Virginia, 2023–2024: $11,000
13. Quantitative Collaborative Faculty Seed Grant, University of Virginia, 2023: $15,000 (with Jazmin Brown-Iannuzzi)
12. Research Grant, Institute for Humane Studies, 2023: $4,000
11. Quantitative Collaborative Faculty Seed Grant, University of Virginia, 2022: $8,000 (with Melle Scholten)

10. Humane Studies Fellowship, Institute for Humane Studies, 2018–2021: $12,000
9. Gerald R. Ford Dissertation Fellowship, University of Michigan, 2018–2020: $50,500
8. Garth Taylor Fellowship in Public Opinion Research, University of Michigan, 2018–2019: $10,000
7. Jean Monnet Graduate Fellowship, University of Michigan, 2018: $5,000
6. Rackham Graduate Student Research Grant, University of Michigan, 2017–2018: $4,500
5. Angus Campbell Scholars Fund, University of Michigan, 2017: $7,000
4. International Institute Fellowship, University of Michigan, 2017: $4,250
3. Summer Grant for Research on Europe and Eurasia, University of Michigan, 2016: $1,500
2. Weiser Emerging Democracy Fellowship, University of Michigan, 2014–2015: $26,000
1. Utrecht Excellence Scholarship, Utrecht University (Netherlands), 2008–2010: €27,000

Presentations and Talks

2026: International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP); Stony Brook University; Western Political Science Association (WPSA)

2025: European Political Science Association (EPSA); New Yok Area Political Psychology; Southwestern Social Science Association; University of Michigan; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

2024: American Association for Public Opinion Research; American Political Science Association (APSA); American University; Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA); Southern Political Science Association (SPSA)

2023: APSA; MPSA; SPSA

2022: EPSA; ISPP; MPSA; SPSA; WPSA

2021: APSA

2019: APSA; EPSA; ISPP; MPSA; Society for Political Methodology; SPSA

2018: APSA; EPSA; Indiana University Bloomington; MPSA

2017: APSA; ISPP; MPSA

2016: EPSA; MPSA

2015: EPSA; MPSA

Teaching

6. Bayesian Analysis and Hierarchical Modeling (graduate), University of Virginia
5. Statistical Measurement (graduate), University of Virginia
4. Regression Analysis (graduate), University of Virginia
3. Mathematics for Political Science (graduate), University of Virginia
2. Polarization in American Politics (undergraduate), University of Virginia
1. Introduction to Research Design (undergraduate), University of Virginia

Visiting Researcher

3. University of Gothenburg (Sweden), 2018
2. GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (Germany), 2017

1. Higher School of Economics (Russia), 2016

Professional Service

2. Section Chair, Political Psychology, MPSA Conference, 2024
1. Awards Committee, International Society of Political Psychology, 2022

Departmental Service

7. Co-Chair, Political Methodology Study Group, University of Virginia, 2021–present
6. Search Committee, Comparative Politics, University of Virginia, 2026
5. Search Committee, Race and U.S. Politics, University of Virginia, 2023
4. Gender and Diversity Committee, University of Virginia, 2022–2023
3. Graduate Student Professional Development Committee, University of Michigan, 2019–2020
2. Coordinator, Interdisciplinary Workshop in American Politics, University of Michigan, 2018–2019
1. Graduate Student Member, Admissions Committee, University of Michigan, 2016–2017

Professional Memberships

American Political Science Association; European Political Science Association; International Society of Political Psychology; Midwest Political Science Association; Society for Political Methodology; Southern Political Science Association

Reviewer

2026: American Journal of Political Science (3); American Political Science Review; American Politics Research; Electoral Studies; European Journal of Political Research; International Journal of Intercultural Relations; International Migration Review; Journal of European Public Policy; Journal of Experimental Political Science; Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies; Journal of Peace Research (2); Journal of Politics; Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics; Political Analysis; Political Behavior (2); Political Research Quarterly (2); Political Science Research and Methods; Political Studies; PS: Political Science & Politics; Representation; Social Forces; Sociological Perspectives

2025: British Journal of Political Science; Electoral Studies; European Journal of Political Research (2); Group Processes & Intergroup Relations; International Migration; International Migration Review (2); Journal of Experimental Political Science; Journal of Politics; Nature Human Behavior; Party Politics; Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin; PLOS One; Policy Studies Journal; Political Analysis (2); Political Behavior; Political Communication; Political Psychology (2); Political Research Quarterly (2); Political Science Research and Methods (2); Political Studies; Politics, Groups, and Identities; Public Opinion Quarterly; Social Science Journal; Socius

2024: American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; American Politics Research; European Journal of Political Research; European Political Science; European Political Science Review; Europe-Asia Studies; Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (2); Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Politics; Perspectives on Politics; PNAS Nexus; Policy Studies Journal; Political Analysis; Political Behavior (2); Political Research Quarterly; Politics, Groups, and Identities; Public Opinion Quarterly (2); World Politics

2023: American Journal of Political Science (2); American Political Science Review (2); American Sociological Review (2); British Journal of Political Science; Foreign Policy Analysis; International Journal of Public Opinion Research; Journal of Policy Analysis and Management; Political Science Research and Methods; Public Opinion Quarterly; Race and Social Problems

2022: American Political Science Review; European Journal of Political Research; Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies; Journal of Politics; Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics; Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin; Perspectives on Politics

2021: American Journal of Political Science; Electoral Studies; European Political Science Review; International Interactions; International Journal of Public Opinion Research; International Migration Review (2); Journal of Politics; Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics; Perspectives on Politics; Political Behavior; Political Science Research and Methods; Social Forces; Social Science Journal; Terrorism and Political Violence

2020: American Political Science Review; Australian Journal of International Affairs; Bulletin of Latin American Research; European Journal of Political Research; Government and Opposition; Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics; Party Politics; Political Research Quarterly; Public Opinion Quarterly

2019: American Journal of Political Science; European Journal of Political Research; Party Politics; Political Research Quarterly

2018: European Journal of Political Research; European Political Science Review; PLOS One; Terrorism and Political Violence (2)

2017: British Journal of Political Science; Conflict Management and Peace Science; Party Politics

2016: European Journal of Political Research; European Political Science Review; Foreign Policy Analysis; Social Currents

2015: Journal of Contemporary European Studies