PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS

A Political Science Public Sphere







APSA Preprints is a free prepublication platform for early research outputs in political science and related disciplines.



Key Benefits

- Obtain a DOI
- Comment on papers
- Track metrics & share on social media
- Rapid turnaround (3-5 days)
- Prepare your paper for peer review
- Free to post and browse

Upload your 2024 Annual Meeting paper today!

Submit the latest version of your preprint directly to a journal!

Visit preprints.apsanet.org to learn more



Philosophy of Perspectives on Politics

Perspectives seeks to nurture a political science public sphere, publicizing important scholarly topics, ideas, and innovations, linking scholarly authors and readers, and promoting broad reflexive discussion among political scientists about the work that we do and why this work matters.

A full-length copy of the journal's editorial philosophy appears in Perspectives on Politics 8(1): 7–10 and also on the web at https://www.apsanet.org/perspectivessubmissions.

Submission and Review

For submission guidelines, please see https://www.apsanet.org/perspectivessubmissions. Our editorial team discusses all submissions. Those that seem promising are evaluated by several external reviewers—with full confidentiality on both sides—and then accepted, returned for further revisions, or declined with suggestions of more appropriate venues for publication.

Perspectives on Politics

Ana Arjona, Northwestern University, USA Wendy Pearlman, Northwestern University, USA

Associate Editor

Shmuel Nili, Northwestern University, USA

Book Review Editors

Anne Wolf, University of Oxford, UK

Kathrin Bachleitner, University of Salzburg, Austria

Sarah Bufkin, University of Birmingham, UK

Managing Editor

Jennifer C. Boylan, APSA

Assistants to the Editors

Jinxue Chen, Northwestern University

Elizabeth Good, Northwestern University

Jack McGovern, Northwestern University

Sarah E. Moore, Northwestern University

Editors Emeriti

Michael Bernhard & Daniel I. O'Neill, University of Florida, 2017-2023

Jeffrey C. Isaac, Indiana University, 2009-2017

James Johnson, University of Rochester, 2005-2008

Jennifer Hochschild, Harvard University, 2002-2005

Editorial Board

Reşat Bayer, Koç University

Cristina Beltrán, New York University

Richard Bensel, Cornell University

Ruth Berins Collier, University of California at Berkeley

Nancy Bermeo, Oxford University

Cara Wong, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Charli Carpenter, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Simone Chambers, University of California, Irvine Simone Dietrich, University of Geneva

Omar Encarnación, Bard College

Zsolt Enyedi, Central European University Michael Fortner, Claremont Mckenna College

Mneesha Gellman, Emerson College
Michael Goodhart, University of Pittsburgh

Anna Grzymala-Busse, Stanford University

Michael Hanchard, University of Pennsylvania

Juliet Hooker, Brown University

Jane Junn, University of Southern California

Jane Junn, University of Southern California
Sung Eun Kim, Korea University
Yanna Krupnikov, University of Michigan
Douglas Lemke, Pennsylvania State University
Julia Lynch, University of Pennsylvania
Marc Lynch, George Washington University
Samantha Majic, John Jay College, CUNY
John Medearis, University of California, Riverside
Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University
Malises Michalem, Menlo College

Melissa Michelson, Menlo College

Jørgen Møller, Aarhus University

Anja Neundorf, University of Glasgow

Daniel Nexon, Georgetown University

Christopher Parker, University of California, Santa Barbara

Trisha Phillips, West Virginia University

Ed Schatz, University of Toronto

Alexandra Siegel, University of Colorado, Boulder

Dan Slater, University of Michigan Paul Staniland, University of Chicago

Paul Steinberg, Harvey Mudd College Joan C. Tronto, University of Minnesota

Ashutosh Varshney, Brown University

Vesla Weaver, Johns Hopkins University

CONTACT INFO

Perspectives on Politics American Political Science Association 1527 New Hampshire Ave, NW Washington, DC 20036

Perspectives: perspectives@apsanet.org Book Reviews: popbookreviews@apsanet.org

Association Office Address and Membership Information:

American Political Science Association individual membership dues are as follow: Regular members with income \$200,000+, \$345; \$135,000-\$199,999, \$293; \$100,000-\$134,000, \$261; \$80,000-\$99,999, \$225; \$60,000-\$79,999, \$202; \$50,000-\$59,999, \$186; \$40,000-\$49,999, \$154; \$30,000-39,000, \$104; less than \$30,000, \$83; Retired members with income \$25,000+, \$66; Retired members with income less than \$25,000, \$40; Targeted international member (TIM), \$45; Life member, \$4,000; K-12 educators (PS only), \$53; Unemployed members, \$45; Student members, \$52; Associate member with one journal selection, \$80. Changes of address for members should be completed online or mailed to the APSA membership office at: APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

Subscription, Publishing, and Advertising Office Address:

Cambridge University Press & Assessment, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006; and (for correspondents outside the United States, Canada, and Mexico) Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, England.

Subscription Information: Perspectives on Politics (ISSN 1537-5927) is published quarterly, in March, June, September, and December, by Cambridge University Press & Assessment, (One Liberty Plaza,

20th floor, New York, NY 10006) for the American Political Science Association. Annual institutional electronic-only subscription rate (2024) is US\$1642 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £943 elsewhere. Annual institutional print and electronic subscription rate (2024) is US\$1903 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1080 elsewhere. Perspectives on Politics is sold only as part of a joint subscription with the American Political Science Review and PS: Political Science & Politics. Periodicals postage rate paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices.

Postmaster: Send address changes to Perspectives on Politics, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, U.S.A.

© American Political Science Association 2024.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Policies, request forms, and contacts are available from: http://www.cambridge.org/rights/permissions/ permission.htm

Permission to copy (for users in the U.S.A.) is available from the Copyright Clearance Center, http://www.copyright.com, email: info@copyright.com.

Advertising: Perspectives on Politics has a circulation of 16,000. For information on advertising rates and mechanical requirements, contact Advertising Coordinator, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006. (212) 337-5000.

Composition: Straive.

Printing and Distribution: The Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA.

ABOUT THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA)

Founded in 1903, the American Political Science Association (APSA) is the leading professional organization for the study of political science and serves more than 11,000 members in over 100 countries. With a range of programs and services for individuals, departments, and institutions, APSA brings together political scientists from all fields of inquiry, regions, and occupational endeavors within and outside academe in order to deepen our understanding of politics, democracy, and citizenship throughout the world. The direct advancement of knowledge is at the core of APSA activities.

We promote scholarly communication in political science through a variety of initiatives including publishing four distinguished journals: *American Political Science Review, Perspectives on Politics, PS: Political Science & Politics,* and the *Journal of Political Science Education.*



PRESIDENT Taeku Lee

Harvard University

VICE-PRESIDENTS Juliet Hooker Brown University

Vincent Hutchings University of Michigan

Caroline Tolbert University of Iowa PRESIDENT -ELECT Susan Stokes University of Chicago

TREASURER

Sara Wallace Goodman University of California, Irvine PAST PRESIDENT Mark Warren

University of British Columbia

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR Kimberly A. Mealy APSA



<u> 2022 – 2025</u>

Jason Casellas University of Houston

Pearl Dowe Emory University

Leigh Jenco

London School of Economics

Susan McWilliams Barndt Pomona College

Aseem Prakash University of Washington

Bassel SalloukhDoha Institute

Christina Schneider University of California, San Diego

Erica Townsend-Bell Oklahoma State University 2023 - 2026

Julia Azari Marquette University

Michael Goodhart University of Pittsburgh

Alice Kang University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Alison McCartney
Towson University

Tamir Moustafa Simon Fraser University

Daniel Nielson University of Texas at Austin

Candice Watts Smith
Duke University

Shatema Threadcraft Vanderbilt University 2024 - 2027

Lonna Atkeson Florida State University

Nadia Brown Georgetown University

> Stacie Goddard Wellesley

Anna Grzymala-Busse Stanford University

Julie Mueller Southern Maine Community College

Melissa Rogers Claremont Graduate University

Sara RushingMontana State University

Cherie Strachan University of Akron



FORMER APSA PRESIDENTS



Frank J. Goodnow Albert Shaw Frederick N. Judson James Bryce A. Lawrence Lowell Woodrow Wilson Simeon E. Baldwin Albert Bushnell Hart W. W. Willoughby John Bassett Moore Ernst Freund Jesse Macy Munroe Smith Henry Jones Ford Paul S. Reinsch Leo S. Rowe William A. Dunning Harry A. Garfield James W. Garner Charles E. Merriam Charles A. Beard William Bennett Munro Iesse S. Reeves John A. Fairlie Benjamin F. Shambaugh Edward S. Corwin William F. Willoughby Isidor Loeb Walter Shepard Francis W. Coker Arthur N. Holcombe

Charles Grove Haines Robert C. Brooks Frederic A. Ogg William Anderson Robert E. Cushman Leonard D. White Iohn Gaus Walter F. Dodd Arthur W. MacMahon Henry R. Spencer Quincy Wright James K. Pollock Peter H. Odegard Luther Gulick Pendleton Herring Ralph J. Bunche Charles McKinley Harold D. Lasswell E. E. Schattschneider V. O. Key, Jr. R. Taylor Cole Carl B. Swisher Emmette S. Redford

Charles S. Hyneman

Charles I. Friedrich

C. Herman Pritchett

Thomas Reed Powell

Clarence A. Dvkstra

David B Truman Gabriel A. Almond Robert A. Dahl Merle Fainsod David Easton Karl W. Deutsch Robert E. Lane Heinz Eulau Robert E. Ward Avery Leiserson Austin Ranney James MacGregor Burns Samuel H. Beer John C. Wahlke Leon D. Epstein Warren E. Miller Charles E. Lindblom Seymour Martin Lipset William H. Riker Philip E. Converse Richard F. Fenno Aaron B. Wildavsky Samuel P. Huntington Kenneth N. Waltz Lucian W. Pve Judith N. Shklar Theodore I. Lowi James Q. Wilson Lucius J. Barker Charles O.Jones Sidney Verba Arend Lijphart Elinor Ostrom M. Kent Jennings Matthew Holden, Jr. Robert O. Keohane Robert Jervis Robert D. Putnam Theda Skocpol Susanne Hoeber Rudolph Margaret Levi Ira Katznelson Robert Axelrod Dianne M. Pinderhughes Peter Katzenstein Henry E. Brady Carole Pateman G. Bingham Powell, Jr. Jane Mansbridge John H. Aldrich Rodnev E. Hero Jennifer Hochschild David Lake Kathleen Thelen Rogers Smith Paula D. McClain

Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier

Iohn Ishiyama

Mark Warren

American Political Science Association | 1527 New Hampshire Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036-1206 | www.apsanet.org

Perspectives on Politics

December 2024/Vol. 22, No. 4 | American Political Science Association

Contents

From the Editors

955 Editorial Note
Ana Arjona, Jinxue Chen, Elizabeth Good, Jack McGovern, Sarah Moore,
and Wendy Pearlman

Special Section: Migrant Acceptance and Inclusion

Reflection

961 Morality in the Refugee Regime? Arguing for More (Political) Realism in Admitting Refugees
Felix Bender

Articles

- **975** From Openness to Inclusion: Toward a Democratic Approach to Migration Policy **Nathan Pippenger**
- The Ukrainian Refugee Crisis and the Politics of Public Opinion: Evidence from Hungary Thomas B. Pepinsky, Ádám Reiff, and Krisztina Szabó
- 1015 Embracing the Status Hierarchy: How Immigration Attitudes, Prejudice, and Sexism Shaped Non-White Support for Trump Jessica R. Geiger and Tyler T. Reny

Special Section: Law & Politics

- 1031 Courts-First Federalism: How Model Legislation Becomes Impact Litigation Dylan L. Yingling and Daniel J. Mallinson
- 1045 Lawyers as Lobbyists: Regulatory Advocacy in American Finance Brian Libgober and Daniel Carpenter
- 1065 Litigating Policy Drift: Frozen Categories and Thresholds in Court Ursula Hackett

Special Section: Crisis and Belief Formation

1077 Geosocietal Support for Democracy: Survey Evidence from Ukraine Mikhail A. Alexseev and Serhii Dembitskyi



Sign welcoming refugees on City Hall of Madrid. Aygul Sarvarova/Gettylmages.

- 1100 Social Disruption, Gun Buying, and Anti-System Beliefs
 Matthew J. Lacombe, Matthew D. Simonson, Jon Green, and James N. Druckman
- 1118 How to Stay Popular: Threat, Framing, and Conspiracy Theory Longevity Courtney Blackington and Frances Cayton
- 1140 Populist Attitudes among Teenagers: How Negative Relationships with Socialization Agents Are Linked to Populist Attitudes

Sebastian Jungkunz and Julia Weiss

Special Section: Addressing Transnational Challenges

1157 "Fit for Purpose?" Assessing the Ecological Fit of the Social Institutions that Globally Govern Antimicrobial Resistance

Isaac Weldon and Steven J. Hoffman

1179 Dimensions of Transnational Feminism: Autonomous Organizing, Multilateralism and Agenda-Setting in Global Civil Society

Kaitlin Kelly-Thompson, Amber Lusvardi, Summer Forester, and S. Laurel Weldon

- 1203 The Decarbonization Bargain: How the Decarbonizable Sector Shapes Climate Politics Nils Kupzok and Jonas Nahm
- 1224 Perceptions of a Global Democratic Deficit: An International Survey Experiment Farsan Ghassim

The Johan Skytte Prize Lecture

1248 When "Old" Constructivism Was New: Reflections on Classical Constructivism Martha Finnemore and Alexander Wendt

From the Editors

- 1269 Our Reflections on our First Months as the New Book Review Editors
 Anne Wolf, Kathrin Bachleitner, and Sarah Bufkin
- 1271 Rumors, Propaganda, and Conspiracies: New Insights on the Ideological Dimensions of Democratic Backsliding and Autocratization

 Anne Wolf, Kathrin Bachleitner, and Sarah Bufkin

Review Symposium

1275 A Discussion of Adam Berinsky's *Political Rumors: Why We Accept Misinformation and How to Fight It*Bethany Albertson
Matthew Motta
Hugo Leal

Emily Thorson

Thomas Julian Wood

Book Review Essays

1285 The Radical Right Goes Global (and Local)

David Art

- The Self-Orientalizing Republic of Iran **Charles Kurzman**
- 1297 China's Governance in the "New Era" of Xi Jinping Elizabeth J. Perry

Critical	Dial	loaues
		9,400

1304	Reviews and Responses Asad L. Asad Engage and Evade: How Latino Immigrant Families Manage Surveillance in Everyday Life	 Yalidy Matos Moral and Immoral Whiteness in Immigration Politics
1310	Reviews and Responses Russ Castronovo American Insecurity and the Origins of Vulnerability	 Mark Maguire and Setha Low Trapped: Life under Security Capitalism and How to Escape It
1315	Reviews and Responses Josep M. Colomer Constitutional Polarization: A Critical Review of the U.S. Political System	 Maxwell L. Stearns Parliamentary America: The Least Radical Means of Radically Repairing Our Broken Democracy
1321	Reviews and Responses Joseph Masco and Lisa Wedeen, Eds. Conspiracy/Theory	 Matthew Rhodes-Purdy, Rachel Navarre, and Stephen Utych The Age of Discontent: Populism, Extremism, and Conspiracy Theories in Contemporary Democracies
1327	Reviews and Responses Dylan M.H. Loh China's Rising Foreign Ministry: Practices and Representations of Assertive Diplomacy	 Ketian Zhang China's Gambit: The Calculus of Coercion

Book Reviews

POLITICAL THEORY

- 1332 Alan S. Kahan, Freedom from Fear: An Incomplete History of Liberalism Review by Paul Kelly
- 1333 Michael Sonenscher, After Kant: The Romans, the Germans, and the Moderns in the History of Political Thought Review by Paul T. Wilford
- Kevin J. Elliott, Democracy for Busy People 1335 Review by Steven L. Taylor
- 1336 Richard Bourke, Hegel's World Revolutions Review by Terry Pinkard

AMERICAN POLITICS

- 1337 Paul M. Rego, Lyman Trumbull and the Second Founding of the United States Review by Robert C. Lieberman
- Andrew C. McKevitt, Gun Country: Gun Capitalism, Culture and Control in Cold War America 1339 Review by Robert J. Spitzer
- Jeff Spinner-Halev and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, Respect and Loathing in American Democracy: Polarization, Moralization, and the Undermining of Equality Review by Daniel F. Stone

1342 **John C. Green, David B. Cohen, and Kenneth M. Miller,** State of the Parties 2022: The Changing Role of American Political Parties

Review by Daniel Schlozman

1343 Susan Gluck Mezey and Megan A. Sholar, Chasing Equality: Women's Rights & U.S. Public Policy Review by Anna Mahoney

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

1344 Leonardo R. Arriola, Lise Rakner, and Nicolas van de Walle, Eds., Democratic Backsliding in Africa? Autocratization, Resilience, and Contention

Review by Rachel Beatty Riedl

1345 Erin Baggott Carter and Brett L. Carter, Propaganda in Autocracies: Institutions, Information, and the Politics of Belief

Review by Haifeng Huang

1347 Paul Whiteley, Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin, and Marianne C. Stewart, *Brexit Britain: The Consequences of the Vote to Leave the European Union*

Review by Gylfi Zoega

1349 Matthias Thiemann, Taming the Cycles of Finance? Central Banks and the Macro-Prudential Shift in Financial Regulation

Review by Leah Rose Downey

- 1350 **Marianna Griffini**, The Politics of Memory in the Italian Populist Radical Right: From Mare Nostrum to Mare Vostrum Review by Alessia Donà
- 1352 **Goran Hyden,** Theorizing in Comparative Politics: Democratization in Africa Review by Jonathan Fisher
- 1353 Marie-Eve Desrosiers, *Trajectories of Authoritarianism in Rwanda: Elusive Control before the Genocide*Review by Omar Shahabudin McDoom
- 1355 **Johannes Gerschewski**, *The Two Logics of Autocratic Rule*Review by Kurt Weyland

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- 1356 **Michael Haas,** Professionalization of Foreign Policy: Transformation of Operational Code Analysis
 Review by James Strong
- 1358 **Christina L. Davis**, *Discriminatory Clubs: The Geopolitics of International Organizations*Review by Tamar Gutner
- 1359 Christopher S. Browning, Nation Branding and International Politics

Review by Felix Berenskötter

1361 Andrew Wilson, Political Technology: The Globalisation of Political Manipulation

Review by Lucas Kello

1363 Kseniya Oksamytna, Advocacy and Change in International Organizations: Communication, Protection, and

Reconstruction in UN Peacekeeping
Review by Richard Caplan

1364 Tomasz P. Woźniakowski, Fiscal Unions: Economic Integration in Europe and the United States

- 1364 **Tomasz P. Woźniakowski**, *Fiscal Unions: Economic Integration in Europe and the United States*Review by Tobias Tesche
- 1365 William R. Thompson, American Global Pre-Eminence: The Development and Erosion of Systemic Leadership Ayşe Zarakol, Before the West: The Rise and Fall of Eastern World Orders Review by Carla Norrlöf

Erratum

- 1368 Lawyers as Lobbyists: Regulatory Advocacy in American Finance ERRATUM
- 1369 Review Index