



**LEAD EDITORS**

John Gerring  
*University of Texas at Austin, USA*  
Monika Nalepa  
*University of Chicago, USA*

**ASSOCIATE EDITORS**

Marisa Abrajano  
*University of California, San Diego, USA*  
Laia Balcells  
*Georgetown University, USA*  
Pablo Beramendi  
*Duke University, USA*  
Carles Boix  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Scott de Marchi  
*Duke University, USA*  
Alexandre Debs  
*Yale University, USA*  
Andrew Eggers  
*University of Chicago, USA*  
Gregory Huber  
*Yale University, USA*  
Sebastian Karcher  
*Syracuse University, USA*  
Isabela Mares  
*Yale University, USA*  
Alison McQueen  
*Stanford University, USA*  
Daniel Pemstein  
*North Dakota State University, USA*  
Julie Rose  
*Dartmouth College, USA*  
Sharece Thrower  
*Vanderbilt University, USA*

**MANAGING EDITOR**

Dragana Svraka

**ADVISORY BOARD FOR ETHICAL RESEARCH**

Catherine Boone  
*London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*  
Scott Desposato  
*UC San Diego, USA*  
Macartan Humphreys  
*WZB Berlin, Germany, and Columbia University, USA*  
Lauren M. MacLean  
*Indiana University, USA*  
Trisha Phillips  
*West Virginia University, USA*  
Peregrine Schwartz-Shea  
*University of Utah, USA*

**EDITORIAL BOARD**

Sarah Anzia  
*University of California, Berkeley, USA*  
Kevin Arceneaux  
*Sciences Po Paris, France*  
P. M. Aronow  
*Yale University, USA*  
Katharine Baldwin  
*Yale University, USA*  
Teresa Bejan  
*University of Oxford, UK*  
Christopher Berry  
*University of Chicago, USA*  
Lisa Blaydes  
*Stanford University, USA*  
David Broockman  
*University of California, Berkeley, USA*  
Sarah Bush  
*University of Pennsylvania, USA*  
Brandice Canes-Wrone  
*Stanford University, USA*  
Taylor Carlson  
*Washington University in St. Louis, USA*

Allison Carnegie  
*Columbia University, USA*  
David Carter  
*Washington University in St. Louis, USA*  
Devin Caughey  
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA*  
Charlotte Cavallé  
*University of Michigan, USA*  
Joseph Chan  
*Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan*  
Fotini Christia  
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA*  
Mark Copelovitch  
*University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*  
Katherine Cramer  
*University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*  
Cesi Cruz  
*University of California, Los Angeles, USA*  
Lauren Davenport  
*Stanford University, USA*  
Lisa Disch  
*University of Michigan, USA*  
Kevin Duong  
*University of Virginia, USA*  
Wioletta Dziuda  
*University of Chicago, USA*  
Roxanne Euben  
*University of Pennsylvania, USA*  
Matthew Fuhrmann  
*Texas A&M University, USA*  
Scott Gehlbach  
*University of Chicago, USA*  
Adam Glynn  
*Emory University, USA*  
Sanford Gordon  
*New York University, USA*  
Andrew Guess  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Hahrie Han  
*Johns Hopkins University, USA*  
Mai Hassan  
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA*  
Clarissa Hayward  
*Washington University in St. Louis, USA*  
Chad Hazlett  
*University of California, Los Angeles, USA*  
Gretchen Helmke  
*University of Rochester, USA*  
Daniel Hidalgo  
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA*  
Seth Hill  
*University of California, San Diego, USA*  
Shigeo Hirano  
*Columbia University, USA*  
Alisha Holland  
*Harvard University, USA*  
Macartan Humphreys  
*WZB Berlin Social Science Center, Germany*  
Nahomi Ichino  
*Emory University, USA*  
Murad Idris  
*University of Michigan, USA*  
Alan Jacobs  
*University of British Columbia, Canada*  
Amaney A. Jamal  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Jennifer Jerit  
*Dartmouth College, USA*  
Saumitra Jha  
*Stanford University, USA*  
Joshua Kalla  
*Yale University, USA*

Kimuli Kasara  
*Columbia University, USA*  
Samara Klar  
*University of Arizona, USA*  
Carl Henrik Knutsen  
*University of Oslo, Norway*  
Nazita Lajevardi  
*Michigan State University, USA*  
Melissa Lane  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Benjamin Lauderdale  
*University College London, UK*  
Alexander Lee  
*University of Rochester, USA*  
Gabriel Lenz  
*University of California, Berkeley, USA*  
Jacob Levy  
*McGill University, Canada*  
Keisha Lindsay  
*University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*  
Catherine Lu  
*McGill University, Canada*  
Ellen Lust  
*University of Gothenburg, Sweden*  
Edmund Malesky  
*Duke University, USA*  
Gregory Martin  
*Stanford University, USA*  
Lanny Martin  
*Bocconi University, Italy*  
Daniel Mattingly  
*Yale University, USA*  
Benjamin McKean  
*Ohio State University, USA*  
Tali Mendelberg  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Anne Meng  
*University of Virginia, USA*  
Marc Meredith  
*University of Pennsylvania, USA*  
Jacob Montgomery  
*Washington University in St. Louis, USA*  
Richard Nielsen  
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA*  
Kieran Oberman  
*London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*  
Jack Paine  
*Emory University, USA*  
Efrén Pérez  
*University of California, Los Angeles, USA*  
Rachel Potter  
*University of Virginia, USA*  
Stephanie Rickard  
*London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*  
Margaret E. Roberts  
*University of California, San Diego, USA*  
Amanda Robinson  
*Ohio State University, USA*  
Melvin Rogers  
*Brown University, USA*  
Jennifer Rubenstein  
*University of Virginia, USA*  
David Rueda  
*University of Oxford, UK*  
Frederic Schaffer  
*University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA*  
Kenneth Scheve  
*Yale University, USA*  
Eric Schickler  
*University of California, Berkeley, USA*  
Christina Schneider  
*University of California, San Diego, USA*

Kenneth Schultz  
*Stanford University, USA*  
Melissa Schwartzberg  
*New York University, USA*  
Jason Seawright  
*Northwestern University, USA*  
Maya Sen  
*Harvard University, USA*  
Erica Simmons  
*University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*  
Joel Simmons  
*Georgetown University, USA*  
Paul Staniland  
*University of Chicago, USA*  
David Stasavage  
*New York University, USA*  
Susan Stokes  
*University of Chicago, USA*  
Milan Svobik  
*Yale University, USA*  
Lucas Swaine  
*Dartmouth College, USA*  
Christopher Tausanovitch  
*University of California, Los Angeles, USA*  
Tariq Thachil  
*University of Pennsylvania, USA*  
Jakana Thomas  
*University of California, San Diego, USA*  
Shatema Threadcraft  
*Vanderbilt University, USA*  
Rocio Titunik  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Michael Tomz  
*Stanford University, USA*  
Georg Vanberg  
*Duke University, USA*  
Lynn Vavreck  
*University of California, Los Angeles, USA*  
Stefanie Walter  
*University of Zurich, Switzerland*  
Yuhua Wang  
*Harvard University, USA*  
Leonard Wantchekon  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Lisa Wedeen  
*University of Chicago, USA*  
Jessica Weeks  
*University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA*  
Jessica Weiss  
*Cornell University, USA*  
Rachel Wellhausen  
*University of Texas at Austin, USA*  
Sean Westwood  
*Dartmouth College, USA*  
Kurt Weyland  
*University of Texas at Austin, USA*  
Ariel White  
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA*  
Ismail White  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Amber Wichowsky  
*Marquette University, USA*  
James Lindley Wilson  
*University of Chicago, USA*  
Andreas Wimmer  
*Columbia University, USA*  
Deva Woodly  
*Brown University, USA*  
Teppei Yamamoto  
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA*  
Hye Young You  
*Princeton University, USA*  
Yuri Zhukov  
*Georgetown University, USA*

**Association Office Address and Membership Information:** American Political Science Association individual membership dues are: Regular members with income of \$200,000+, \$352; \$135,000–\$199,999, \$299; \$100,000–\$134,999, \$266; \$80,000–\$99,999, \$230; \$60,000–\$79,999, \$206; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$190; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$157; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$106; under \$30,000, \$85; life member, \$4,000; associate member (can select only one journal for print or online), \$82; K–12 educator, \$54; student member, \$52; unemployed member, \$45; retired, \$25,000+, \$66; retired under \$25,000, \$40; targeted international member, \$45. The amount of the dues allocated for a subscription is \$8.00 for an individual membership. Institutional members: level one, \$900; level two, \$1,250; level three, \$1,750. Changes of address for members should be completed online or mailed to APSA Member Services, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036-1206.

**Subscription, Publishing, and Advertising Office Address:** Cambridge University Press & Assessment, One Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006; and (outside the United States, Canada, and Mexico) Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, England.

**Subscription Information:** *American Political Science Review* (ISSN 0003-0554) is published quarterly in February, May, August, and November by Cambridge University Press & Assessment (One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006) for the American Political Science Association. Periodicals postage rate paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Annual institutional electronic-only subscription rate (2025) is US \$1859 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1066 elsewhere. *American Political Science Review* is sold only as part of a joint subscription with the *Perspective on Politics* and *PS: Political Science & Politics*. Single part rate (2025) is US \$317 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £180 elsewhere. POSTMASTER: Send all address changes to: *American Political Science Review*, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006.

© American Political Science Association 2025.

Printed by Sheridan, a CJK Group Company.

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 at <http://www.cambridge.org/rights/permissions/permission.htm>

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

# American Political Science Review

Volume 119, Number 1, February 2025

## Table of Contents

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS: REVIEW TRANSFERS .....	v
ARTICLES	
Endogenous Colonial Borders: Precolonial States and Geography in the Partition of Africa <b>Jack Paine, Xiaoyan Qiu, and Joan Ricart-Huguet</b> .....	1
Legislative Effectiveness in the American States <b>Peter Bucchianeri, Craig Volden, and Alan E. Wiseman</b> .....	21
Selecting Out of “Politics”: The Self-Fulfilling Role of Conflict Expectation <b>Eric Groenendyk, Yanna Krupnikov, John Barry Ryan, and Elizabeth C. Connors</b> .....	40
Late Homesteading: Native Land Dispossession through Strategic Occupation <b>Douglas W. Allen and Bryan Leonard</b> .....	56
The Liar’s Dividend: Can Politicians Claim Misinformation to Evade Accountability? <b>Kaylyn Jackson Schiff, Daniel S. Schiff, and Natália S. Bueno</b> .....	71
Territorial Autonomy and the Trade-Off between Civil and Communal Violence <b>Andreas Juon</b> .....	91
The Effect of Judicial Decisions on Issue Salience and Legal Consciousness in Media Serving the LGBTQ+ Community <b>Christine M. Bailey, Paul M. Collins Jr., Jesse H. Rhodes, and Douglas Rice</b> .....	108
Why Seeing Is Not Believing and Why Believing Is Seeing: On the Politics of Sight <b>Pablo P. Castelló</b> .....	124
The Effect of Protesters’ Gender on Public Reactions to Protests and Protest Repression <b>Martin Naunov</b> .....	135
The Distributive Politics of Grants-in-Aid <b>Leah Rosenstiel</b> .....	152
An Insurgent Mood: Lorraine Hansberry on the Politics of Home <b>Begüm Adalet</b> .....	165
Wages for Earthwork <b>David Myer Temin</b> .....	179
An Empire of Development: American Political Thought in Transnational Perspective <b>Begüm Adalet</b> .....	193
Partisanship and Political Socialization in Electoral Autocracies <b>Natalie Wenzell Letsa</b> .....	208
From Protest to Child-Rearing: How Movement Politics Shape Socialization Priorities <b>Allison P. Anoll, Andrew M. Engelhardt, and Mackenzie Israel-Trummel</b> .....	224
Navigating Potential Pitfalls in Difference-in-Differences Designs: Reconciling Conflicting Findings on Mass Shootings’ Effect on Electoral Outcomes <b>Hans J. G. Hassell and John B. Holbein</b> .....	240
Leaders but Not Authorities? Gender, Veterans, and Messages about National Security <b>Jonathan D. Caverley and Yanna Krupnikov</b> .....	261
Explaining Rural Conservatism: Political Consequences of Technological Change in the Great Plains <b>Aditya Dasgupta and Elena Ramirez</b> .....	277
Breaking the Mold: Normative Hybridity as the Key to Contemporary “Non-Western” Political Theorizing <b>Elena Ziliotti</b> .....	300
Muddying the Waters: How Perceived Foreign Interference Affects Public Opinion on Protest Movements <b>Wilfred M. Chow and Dov H. Levin</b> .....	314
Bureaucratic Representation and Gender Mainstreaming in International Organizations: Evidence from the World Bank <b>Mirko Heinzl, Catherine Weaver, and Samantha Jorgensen</b> .....	332
Reducing Prejudice toward Refugees: Evidence That Social Networks Influence Attitude Change in Uganda <b>Jennifer M. Larson and Janet I. Lewis</b> .....	349
On Accountability and Hierarchy <b>Jonathan Bendor and Piotr Swistak</b> .....	368

I'm from the Government, and I'm Here to Help: Public Perceptions of Coercive State Power <b>Jessica Blankshain, Lindsay P. Cohn, and Danielle L. Lupton</b> .....	384
Corruption and Co-Optation in Autocracy: Evidence from Russia <b>David Szakonyi</b> .....	402
Strategies of Green Industrial Policy: How States Position Firms in Global Supply Chains <b>Bentley B. Allan and Jonas Nahm</b> .....	420
What Is Colonialism? The Dual Claims of a Twentieth-Century Political Category <b>Nazmul Sultan</b> .....	435
For Example: How to Use Examples in Political Science <b>John S. Dryzek</b> .....	449
Varieties of Values: Moral Values Are Uniquely Divisive <b>Jae-Hee Jung and Scott Clifford</b> .....	462
The Apocalypse from Below: The Dangerous Idea of the End of the World, the Politics of the Oppressed, and Anti-Anti-Apocalypticism <b>Joe P. L. Davidson</b> .....	479
<b>LETTERS</b>	
Gender, Race, and Interruptions at Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings <b>Christina L. Boyd, Paul M. Collins Jr., and Lori A. Ringhand</b> .....	492
Do the Effects of Unpopular Supreme Court Rulings Linger? The <i>Dobbs</i> Decision Rescinding Abortion Rights <b>James L. Gibson</b> .....	500
Campaign Finance Vouchers Do Not Expand the Diversity of Donors: Evidence from Seattle <b>Chenoa Yorgason</b> .....	508
Reversion to the Mean, or Their Version of the Dream? Latino Voting in an Age of Populism <b>Bernard L. Fraga, Yamil R. Velez, and Emily A. West</b> .....	517
The Causes and Consequences of Refugee Flows: A Contemporary Reanalysis <b>Andrew Shaver, Benjamin Krick, Judy Blancaflor, Xavier Liu, Ghassan Samara, Sarah Yein Ku, Shengkuo Hu, Joshua Angelo, Martha Carreon, Trishia Lim, Rachel Raps, Alyssa Velasquez, Sofia de Melo and Zhanyi Zuo</b> .....	526
<b>ERRATUM</b>	
Leaders but Not Authorities? Gender, Veterans, and Messages about National Security – ERRATUM <b>Jonathan D. Caverley and Yanna Krupnikov</b> .....	535
<b>ADDENDUM</b>	
List of Reviewers .....	536

# 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*.



## OFFICERS

### 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

## COUNCIL

### 2022 – 2025

**Jason Casellas**  
University of Houston

**Pearl Dowe**  
Emory University

**Leigh Jenco**  
London School of  
Economics

**Susan McWilliams**  
Pomona College

**Aseem Prakash**  
University of Washington

**Bassel Salloukh**  
Doha 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

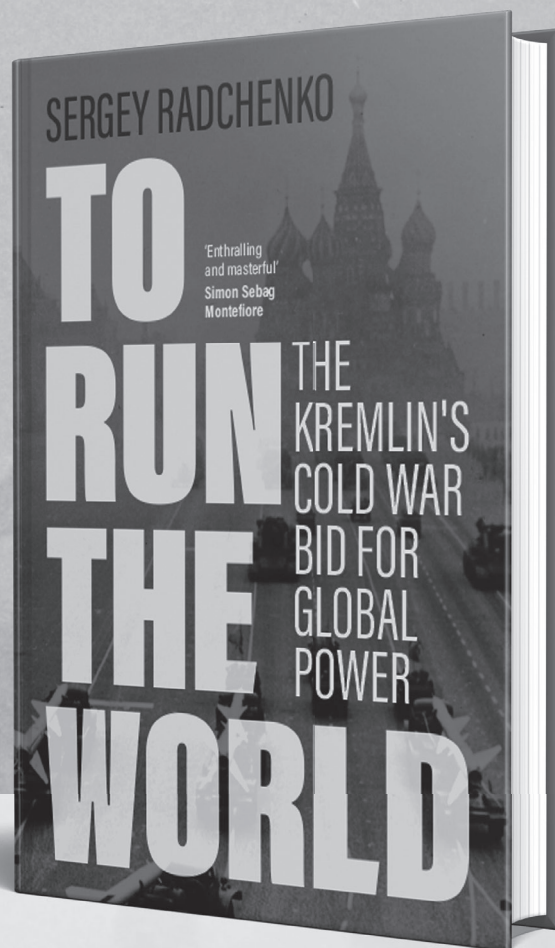
**Sara Rushing**  
Montana State University

**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  
Jesse S. Reeves  
John A. Fairlie  
Benjamin F. Shambaugh  
Edward S. Corwin  
William F. Willoughby  
Isidor Loeb  
Walter Shepard  
Francis W. Coker  
Arthur N. Holcombe  
Thomas Reed Powell  
Clarence A. Dykstra  
Charles Grove Haines  
Robert C. Brooks  
Frederic A. Ogg  
William Anderson  
Robert E. Cushman  
Leonard D. White  
John 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 J. Friedrich  
C. Herman Pritchett

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. Pye  
Judith N. Shklar  
Theodore J. 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 Hoerber 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  
Rodney E. Hero  
Jennifer Hochschild  
David Lake  
Kathleen Thelen  
Rogers Smith  
Paula D. McClain  
Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier  
John Ishiyama  
Mark Warren



**"... a model of historical writing: scrupulously researched and elegantly presented"**

Niall Ferguson, author of *Kissinger, vol. I: The Idealist, 1923-1968*

**"A tour de force... To Run the World is a thought-provoking, comprehensive narrative of the Soviet Union's place and aspirations in the global Cold War."**

Kristina Spohr, author of *Post Wall, Post Square: Rebuilding the world after 1989*

**"... an invaluable and 'magisterial' book"**

Fiona Hill, author of *There is Nothing for You Here: Finding Opportunity in the 21st Century*

**"Drawing on new archival material, insightful analysis, and brilliant writing, Radchenko's book will instantly become the go-to source for understanding Soviet behavior during the Cold War."**

Michael McFaul, author of *From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia*

**"... magisterial world history at its finest."**

Simon Sebag Montefiore, author of *The World: A Family History of Humanity*

**Save 20% with code TRTW20**

9781108477352 | HB | £30/ \$34.95 | May 2024

[cambridge.org/toruntheworld](https://www.cambridge.org/toruntheworld)



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS